

Message Text

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TO CINCPACREP GUAM IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 173241

FOR MATTHEW NIMETZ COUNSELOR DEPT OF STATE

FOLLOWING REPEAT BELGRADE 4978 ACTION SECSTATE INFO USNATO
MOSCOW JULY 23.

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 4978

FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE

SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE: INITIATIVES FOR RESOLUTION OF DURATION
ISSUE

1. SWISS DELEGATION, ACTING ALONE AND WITHOUT SUPPORT OF OTHER
NEUTRALS, BEGAN JULY 21 TO TRY TO FORMULATE A NEW CONCEPT FOR
POSSIBLE COMPROMISE SOLUTION ON ISSUE OF DURATION OF MAIN
MEETING. SWISS DEL MET WITH SOVIETS MORNING OF JULY 22 TO
SOUND THEM OUT ON THIS NEW CONCEPT, AND INFORMED US OF ITS
BASIC ELEMENTS LATER THAT DAY.

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2. LATE AFTERNOON OF JULY 22, VORONTSOV SOUGHT PRIVATE TALK
WITH AMBASSADOR. VORONTSOV SAID HE DID NOT CARE IF PREPARA-
TORY MEETING CONTINUES RIGHT THROUGH AUGUST, BUT HE HAD
HEARD OF NEW NEUTRAL IDEA ON DURATION AND WISHED T KNOW OUR
REACTIONS TO IT. HE SAID IF OUR VIEWS WERE POSITIVE, HE
MIGHT BE ABLE TO CONVINCE MOSCOW TO ACCEPT THE IDEA--AND
THUS CONCLUDE PREPARATORY MEETING BY END OF NEXT WEEK.

VORONTSOV'S EXPLANATION OF NEUTRAL CONCEPT WAS AS FOLLOWS:

MAIN MEETING WOULD ENDEAVOR TO FINISH ITS WORK BY DECEMBER 15, BUT IF IT COULD NOT AGREE ON A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT BY THAT DATE, IT WOULD RECESS UNTIL EARLY JANUARY (HE CITED THE 4TH OR 10TH), 1978. THE MEETING WOULD THEN HAVE TO AGREE ON A DOCUMENT BY THE END OF JANUARY. IN ADDITION, IT WOULD BE STIPULATED THAT THE DOCUMENT TO BE AGREED BY THE END OF JANUARY WOULD HAVE TO STATE, AS A MINIMUM, THE DATE AND PLACE OF THE NEXT BELGRADE-TYPE MEETING. VORONTSOV STATED HE COULD NOT ACCEPT A DIRECT REFERENCE TO THE DATE AND PLACE OF THE NEXT MEETING, BUT COULD ACCEPT SOME OBLIQUE REFERENCE TO THE REQUIREMENT TO AGREE ON DATE AND PLACE OF NEXT MEETING, SUCH AS A STIPULATION THAT THE DOCUMENT WOULD INCLUDE THE AGREED RESULT OF THE AGENDA ITEM ON FOLLOW-UP.

3. AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT TO VORONTSOV THAT THIS FORMULATION WAS BASICALLY NOTHING MORE THAN A TERMINATION DATE AT THE END OF JANUARY, 1978, AND THAT WE CONSIDERED A CONSENSUS-TO-CLOSE A REQUIREMENT, BUT SAID THAT THE U.S. DELEGATION WOULD REFLECT ON THE IDEA.

4. WE INFORMED ALLIES OF VORONTSOV'S DEMARCHE AT CAUCUS MORNING OF JULY 23. THEY HAD, OF COURSE, ALREADY HEARD OF SWISS DEL'S EFFORTS, AND THERE FOLLOWED CONFIDENTIAL

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A THOROUGH DISCUSSION BOTH OF SUBSTANTIVE MERITS OF SWISS DEL'S CONCEPT AND OF TACTICS TO BE FOLLOWED IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. ALL ALLIES AGREED THAT SWISS IDEA, AS IT STANDS, WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE ACCEPTABLE, BUT MOST ALLIED REPS THOUGHT RESPONSE TO SOVIETS, WHILE IT SHOULD BE NEGATIVE ON THE SWISS PROPOSAL, SHOULD NOT CLOSE THE DOOR TO FURTHER DISCUSSION. BUILDING ON BASIC ELEMENTS OF SWISS CONCEPT, FRG REP DRAFTED A REFORMULATION OF THE SWISS IDEA WHICH MIGHT TURN IT AROUND AND MAKE IT MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST. INFORMAL FRG DRAFT (WHICH FRG REP STIPULATED WAS NOT REPEAT NOT AN FRG PROPOSAL) IS AS FOLLOWS: "EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO HAVE THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AGREED UPON NOT LATER THAN 15TH DECEMBER 1977 IF BY THAT DATE THE MEETING HAS NOT AGREED UPON ALL POINTS OF THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, IT WILL ADJOURN AND RESUME ITS WORK ON 16TH JANUARY 1978 FOR A FINAL STAGE OF THREE WEEKS. IT WILL, HOWEVER, NOT END ITS WORK WITHOUT AT LEAST HAVING FIXED THE DATE AND THE PLACE FOR ANOTHER MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES OF THE CSCE HELD ON THE BASIS OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT RELATING TO THE FOLLOW-UP TO THE CONFERENCE."

5. SEVERAL ALLIED REPS POINTED OUT THAT BASIC TRADE-OFF INVOLVED IN THIS CONCEPT WOULD BE THAT THERE WOULD BE NO DIRECT REQUIREMENT FOR CONSENSUS-TO-CLOSE, AND SOME ELEMENTS MIGHT NOT BE INCLUDED IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, BUT CONSENSUS WOULD BE REQUIRED, BEFORE MEETING COULD END, ON THE SINGLE ELEMENT--THE DATE AND PLACE OF THE NEXT MEETING--WHICH NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED CONSIDER MOST IMPORTANT, AND WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO CSCE PROCESS. THUS, ALLIED REPS FELT, BASIC CONCEPT OF CONSENSUS-TO-CLOSE WOULD BE PRESERVED. IN ADDITION, SEVERAL ALLIED REPS NOTED THAT DATE AND PLACE OF NEXT MEETING WERE STATED AS MINIMUM CONTENT FOR CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. THIS WOULD NOT PREVENT INCLUDING OTHER

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ELEMENTS WHICH MIGHT BE AGREED.

6. ALLIES AGREED TO REFLECT ON INFORMAL FRG DRAFT; THOSE DELEGATIONS WHICH FEEL THEY NEED INSTRUCTIONS ON IT WILL SEEK SUCH INSTRUCTIONS BY TUESDAY, JULY 26. MEANWHILE, IT WAS AGREED THAT AMBASSADOR SHOULD GIVE TENTATIVE REPLY TO VORONTSOV, STATING THAT, WHILE WE ARE FLEXIBLE ON EXACT FORMULATION, WE BELIEVE CONSENSUS-TO-CLOSE PRINCIPLE SHOULD BE PRESERVED. AMBASSADOR WOULD RECOGNIZE THAT EFFORTS ARE GOING ON TO FIND A COMPROMISE FORMULATION AND WOULD NOT CLOSE THE DOOR TO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.

7. WE PLAN TO REPLY TO VORONTSOV IN THIS VEIN ON MONDAY, JULY 25. WE CONSIDER THAT OUR PRESENT INSTRUCTIONS PERMIT US EVENTUALLY TO ACCEPT THE INFORMAL FRG FORMULATION AS A FINAL SOLUTION TO THE DURATION ISSUE, PROVIDED OTHER ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS ARE AGREED IN ACCEPTABLE FASHION--THAT IS, PROVIDING FULL OPPORTUNITY FOR THOROUGH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS. SHOULD DEPARTMENT HAVE FURTHER GUIDANCE, HOWEVER, WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING IT BY OPENING OF BUSINESS ON JULY 26. SHERER UNQUOTE VANCE

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TAGS: PGOV, OCON, SZ, US, UR, CSCE
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